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LETTER FROM PRESIDENT
TRANSMITTING DISARMAMENT AGENCY BILL TO CONGRESS

Dear Mr. President (For Letter to Senate)

Dear Mr. Speaker (For Identical Letter to House)

I am transmitting herewith for consideration by the Congress draft legislation to carry out the recommendation in my May 25 message that a new United States Disarmament Agency be created.

Today, the ability of man to master his environment outpaces his ability to control himself. While the world grows ever more interdependent and while the peoples of earth can now look beyond this planet to a new Age of Discovery, they have not yet been able to banish the primitive threat of war. Meanwhile, human inventiveness has made the weapons of war vastly more destructive. In the second half of the 20th Century nations possess the explosive power to destroy most of the earth's population and civilization as we now know it.

The question before us is whether we must live indefinitely with these weapons under precarious national control or whether we can eliminate them or subject them to control by international agreement.

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All nations, large or small, free or totalitarian, have in common the will to preserve their existence and to protect their citizens. This is the common interest, which offers some promise of progress in curbing the threat of war and of the arms race.

There are many who do not believe that the common fear of nuclear war and the common determination to survive are strong enough to compel nations as diverse as the United States and the Soviet Union to seek genuine agreement to control and limit their armaments.

But the alternative to effective agreements limiting arms and armed forces is grim. We are in an arms race, and an arms race too often leads inexorably to war. Every few years a revolution in weapons technology takes place. First came the splitting of the atom and then the U. S. and the U.S.S.R. began to amass nuclear weapons of all sizes and weights. Now a single bomb can damage an area of 450 square miles.

A second revolution came with the development of inter-continental missiles armed with megaton warheads. Every part of the earth is now under threat of devastating attack. Both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have missiles which can travel at speeds over 10,000 miles per hour over distances of more than 7,000 miles, and find their targets accurately.

A third revolution has occurred with the penetration of outer space. And the fourth and fifth revolutions are brewing as man prepares to travel to the moon and the planets, and as the scientists and engineers learn to place weapons of mass destruction in orbit around the earth.

The horrendous character of modern weapons and the tense international situation enforce urgent consideration of every means to lessen international tensions and reduce the dangers of war. The arms race itself creates instability and insecurity. Today the world is at the mercy of some mistake or miscalculation which, as surely as some deliberate act, could precipitate a disaster the full sweep of which we can hardly imagine. The elimination of this danger must be a major purpose of our foreign and national security policy.

The United States Government looks upon the negotiations which have been going on at Geneva for almost three years on a nuclear weapons test ban as an important part of this effort. In these talks the requirements of an effective inspection system have been made starkly clear. We have gained insights into the political and technical complexities of disarmament which we might not have acquired in any other way.

We have recently encountered serious new obstacles to agreement in the form of proposals by the Soviet Union

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which would negate the concept of impartial inspection and control as an integral part of a disarmament treaty.

Despite discouragements and setbacks, we must persevere. Further negotiations on disarmament await the United States and we can afford to put forth nothing less than our best effort. These negotiations will require continuous preparation, evaluation and study of military, political, diplomatic, scientific, legal, and economic factors. They will affect our standing both as a people dedicated to peace and as a world power prepared to defend itself and others against armed aggression.

Disarmament cannot be brought about by concentrating solely on measures to control or eliminate weapons. It must also encompass measures to sustain peace and to strengthen international institutions and the rule of law.

There is a reciprocal relation between disarmament policy and almost every political or military decision this Government makes. A disarmament program must take into account the national security, our foreign policy, the relationships of this country to international peace-keeping agencies, including the United Nations, our domestic economy and even our domestic social policy. It should drive toward the creation of a peaceful world society in which disarmament, except for the forces needed to apply international sanctions,

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to the accepted condition of international life.

In the United States, the organization we create to meet for these large objectives must be of exceptionally wide understanding and competence. It should be established at an authoritative level in the Government.

It must be equipped with the personnel and funds to carry out research and studies in all fields bearing upon arms control and disarmament.

At the same time, those who conduct negotiations should be thoroughly familiar with the problems and possibilities revealed by research. The organization should be capable of guiding the inspection and control operations established under any arms control agreement which may be concluded. And it should be able to inform our country and the world about the problems and possibilities of disarmament and to help make our policies understood.

I have asked Mr. John J. McCloy, my Adviser on Disarmament Policy, to conduct an extensive study of the organization necessary to meet these requirements. He conferred at length with the agencies of the Government principally concerned and with many private students of the problem.

Following Mr. McCloy's recommendations, I have decided to propose to the Congress that a new U.S. Disarmament Agency should be created. The new Agency should be considerably

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larger than the present Disarmament Administration in terms of size, authority and range of skills; it should be created promptly; it should be able to draw upon the services of the best qualified persons from both Government and private life and it should be self-contained, fully equipped, and competent to deal with all aspects of disarmament.

The head of the Agency should report to the Secretary of State and to the President after notification to the Secretary. This arrangement would assure that disarmament affairs are closely coordinated at all times with our dealings with other nations and international institutions. It also recognizes that arms control has its own complexities and a relationship to defense and other aspects of national security which requires a broad autonomy of operation.

The Agency would be charged with primary responsibility for all United States disarmament activities, and would participate in the formulation of policy in the related areas of defense strategy, development of weapons systems and their control, the strengthening of the peace-maintaining machinery of international institutions, and procedures for the settlement of international disputes and the reduction of tension among nations.

The head of the Agency would rank with the Under Secretary of State but the Agency would operate independently

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of the regular Bureaus and channels of the Department of State.

The legislation I am requesting from the Congress would therefore establish an organization with the

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ment policy would be kept continuously coordinated.

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3. The Agency would have attached to it a permanent Advisory Committee of outstanding citizens who would be called upon to render judgments on any matter referred to it by the Director.

4. The Agency would have transferred to it disarmament activities currently being handled by other Government departments and agencies and by other offices of the Department of State.

5. The Agency would have its own budget and its own staff, although it could rely on the Department of State and other Government agencies for certain basic services. It would recruit its personnel both from governmental agencies and outside sources. It would be staffed with persons of the highest competence.

The Agency must have the means to deal with all aspects of the disarmament problem. It should not, for example, have to rely primarily on other agencies for the research on which disarmament and arms control proposals are to be based, but it should possess the funds and authority required for all major research and studies in the disarmament area either within the Government or by private institutions and industry. If the United States is to pursue an effective, secure and persuasive policy, these functions must be merged into a unified and dedicated unit.

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In conclusion, I must stress that organization, machinery and competent people alone will not guarantee the success of the mission of our country to prevent war, curb the arms race, control and reduce the world's arms and armies, and create lasting conditions of peace. But this mission is so vital that we must not hesitate to provide it with all possible means to encourage its success. Peace must command our best efforts.